

The Revolutionary Path Is The Only Path

—Manab Mitra

The Indian people are a great revolutionary people. The entire history of India demonstrates that they have never submitted to their oppressors. They have been carrying on anti-feudal struggle for many centuries and an anti-imperialist struggle for more than a century. During these struggles they have frequently risen up in arms against the feudal lords and the imperialists, and established a glorious revolutionary tradition. Innumerable peasant revolts in all parts of India, freedom struggles of various oppressed nationalities, the great revolt of the oppressed Indian soldiers and people in 1857 against the British, numerous workers' struggles in this century, the great uprising of the Indian people and the navy, airforce and army men in 1946, the great Telangana peasant struggle of 1946-50 and the most recent Naxalbari peasant struggle—all these conclusively prove this fact. All patriots and revolutionaries have always enthusiastically applauded and drawn inspiration from these revolutionary feats of the Indian peasants, workers and soldiers. They have cherished and admired the revolutionary heroism, death-defying determination and the spirit of sacrifice demonstrated by the masses. The Marxist-Leninists have always joined all patriots and revolutionaries in supporting whole-heartedly this glorious revolutionary tradition of the Indian people. Indeed, they firmly base all their activities on the interests of the people, on their revolutionary tradition, and strive to develop this tradition ceaselessly by rousing and encouraging the millions of Indian people to take matters into their own hands and add ever newer and ever brighter chapters to their own glorious revolutionary tradition. Because, they

fully realise that the most fundamental contradiction in India today, that is, the contradiction between the Indian people and the three monsters exploiting and oppressing them, namely imperialism, feudalism and the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie, is an antagonistic contradiction. And so this contradiction can only be resolved through the revolutionary struggle of the people and complete elimination of these three monsters from the national life. It is never possible to resolve this contradiction in any other way. Only a complete and final victory of the Indian people's anti-imperialist anti-feudal struggle can achieve India's liberation. This is both historically inevitable and politically necessary for India's progress.

Hence, it is a good thing that the masses are waging a fearless struggle against imperialist-feudal exploitation and oppression. This shows that the Indian people have correctly grasped the most important issue in India today and adopted the correct method to solve it.

All Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries and patriots must therefore, encourage the people's revolutionary struggle and not discourage it; they must help it to develop in every way and never try to hold it back; they must whole-heartedly support it, and not oppose it. On the contrary, they must resolutely oppose everything that hinders it, and support everything that widens and deepens it. This is the basic standpoint of all Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries and patriots. It is precisely this which binds them closely with the millions of Indian peasants and workers, who constitute the "real iron bastion" which the imperialists and reactionaries with all their atomic bombs and rockets can never defeat or destroy. It is also precisely this close link between the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries with the revolutionary masses that guarantees victory of the Indian people's national liberation movement. Again, it is precisely this that most clearly and thoroughly demarcates the Marxist-Leninists from the revisionists and opportunists of all hues.

Neo-Revisionists Always Opposed Revolution

The neo-revisionist leading clique of the C. P. I. (M) however, like their counter-parts, the renegade Dangeites, take a directly opposite standpoint. These neo-revisionists and revisionists have always persisted in opposing the revolutionary struggles of the Indian people against imperialism and feudalism. Since they jointly usurped leading positions in the Indian Communist movement 30 or more years back, these anti-Marxist opportunists have not, even for once, genuinely supported or helped the heroic Indian people's revolutionary struggles. On the contrary, they have always, under one pretext or another, collaborated with the utterly rotten reactionary leading clique of the National Congress led by the Gandhi-Nehru-Patel-Rajendraprasad-Rajagopalachari group, opposed and betrayed the revolutionary struggles of the masses and thus served the interests of the imperialists and the feudal lords.

Just after the Second World War, the Indian workers, peasants and soldiers rose up in a mighty revolt against the British imperialists who were then completely isolated politically and unable militarily to suppress this upsurge. An excellent situation prevailed to drive out the British oppressors and to strike smashing blows at their main prop—the feudal lords and princes. All patriots and revolutionaries, including the Marxist-Leninists in the C. P. I. whole-heartedly supported this anti-imperialist upsurge and ardently desired to develop and carry it through to its victorious culmination. But the anti-Marxist opportunist leading clique of the Party, headed by P. C. Joshi, shamelessly betrayed the people's anti-imperialist revolutionary upsurge, prevented the Party from leading this movement and forced the Party to surrender completely to the dictates of the traitorous leading Congress clique led by Gandhi-Nehru and Co., who were at that time busily co-operating with the British to put down and destroy the popular upsurge and divide up the country. This action of the Party's leading clique exactly suited the requirements of the British imperialists.

But even this combined attack of the imperialists and the Congress reactionaries, aided by the traitorous leading clique of the C. P. I., could not completely put out the flame of the revolutionary struggle. On the contrary, it raged still more vigorously in Telangana of Hyderabad, led by the revolutionary comrades in the C. P. I. who refused to toe the counter-revolutionary line of the Party's leading clique and supported enthusiastically the revolutionary actions of the masses. There the revolutionary armed struggle of the peasants spread quickly to about 3000 villages with a total population of about 30 lakhs. The brutal military actions launched by the reactionary Nehru government failed to suppress the revolutionary peasants' struggle. It was then that the traitorous leading clique of the C. P. I. headed by Ranadive came out to give a helping hand to the Nehru government. Inside the Party they introduced the Trotskyite-Titoite political theories to demoralise, confuse and detract the revolutionary comrades who were actively leading revolutionary struggles in Telangana and elsewhere, used worst kinds of intimidations to beat down the voice of criticism and wildly wrecked Party organisations. When even such criminal actions proved insufficient to prevent the development of Telangana struggles, the counter-revolutionary leading elements Dange and Ajoy Ghosh openly collaborated with Nehru and Co. and shamelessly helped the Nehru government in putting down the revolutionary struggle. They went so far as to direct the most militant and revolutionary elements of the Telangana struggle to lay down arms and surrender quietly to the butchers sent by Nehru. These shameless traitors even directed comrades to seek out such elements and hand them over to the military. What Nehru's military was unable to do, was peacefully achieved through the active collaboration of the traitorous leading clique of the C.P.I. "Telangana of Hyderabad, the scene of the biggest Communist rebellion, testifies that all the troops and tanks of the Indian army could not wipe out the popular support of Communists..." [Chester Bowles in *Ambassador's Report*, Comet Book Edition, p. 95]. And again, "guerri-

lla fighting continued spasmodically until the Communists themselves changed their programme of violence two years later." [Ibid, p. 79]. Thousands of the glorious revolutionary fighters, the most heroic and best elements, were thus cruelly and deliberately surrendered by the leading clique to the tender mercy of Nehru's butchers, to undergo inhuman torture, persecution and death.

Since then these anti-Marxist usurpers, taking advantage of their control of the Party machinery, systematically smuggled in all sorts of poisonous anti-Marxist anti-internationalist formulations in the Party programmes. In this way they sought to transform the Party into a vegetating bourgeois party and thereby to subvert the anti-imperialist anti-feudal revolutionary struggles of the people. In this respect they were actively aided and assisted by the Khrushchev revisionist gang. The most pernicious of such formulations was the one of "peaceful" path, the so-called parliamentary path.

Violent Revolution—An Unalterable Marxist Principle

Chairman Mao has said: "Revolutions and revolutionary wars are inevitable in class society and without them, it is impossible to accomplish any leap in social development and to overthrow the reactionary ruling classes and therefore impossible for the people to win political power...". This is a universal truth, and a fundamental principle of Marxism-Leninism. The Indian people, who are being mercilessly exploited and oppressed by the imperialists, feudal lords and the bureaucrat-comprador bourgeoisie, can also accomplish a leap in social development and win political power only through revolutions and revolutionary wars and by overthrowing their biggest exploiters and oppressors. To deny this is to deny Marxism-Leninism and to betray the Indian revolution. Lenin pointed out in *The State and Revolution* that the inevitability of a violent revolution "lies at the root of the whole of Marx's and Engels' doctrine" and that "systematically imbuing the masses with *this* and precisely this view of violent revolu-

tion" is a "necessity." Lenin said: "In the final analysis, force alone can settle the great problems of political liberty and the class struggle, and it is our business to prepare and organize this force and to employ it actively, not only for defensive purposes, but also for the purpose of attack." [*Two Tactics*, Selected Works, 2 vol. ed., Vol. I, p.361]. Can the oppressed classes win political power peacefully from the oppressor classes which are armed to the teeth? This is what Lenin teaches in this respect: "An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, deserves to be treated like slaves." Further, "Our slogan must be: The arming of the proletariat for the purpose of vanquishing, expropriating and disarming the bourgeoisie. These are the only tactics a revolutionary class can adopt." [*War Program of the Proletarian Revolution*, *ibid*, p, 745]. It is precisely this Marxist-Leninist principle of the inevitability of a violent revolution that the great Chinese Party led by Mao Tse-tung firmly upholds in its pioneering struggle against the Soviet revisionists. Marxist-Leninists all over the world, including India, enthusiastically support the wise and correct line put forward by the Chinese comrades. The Chinese comrades pointed out that "the acknowledgment or non-acknowledgment of violent revolution as a universal law of proletarian revolution, ... has always been the watershed between Marxism and all brands of opportunism and revisionism, between proletarian revolutionaries and all renegades from the proletariat." [*The Proletarian Revolution and the Revisionist Khrushchov*, pp. 5-6]. Further, the entire experience of the revolutionary movements in the world after the Second World War has shown that in every country without exception, where the so-called peaceful parliamentary path was adopted and the revolutionary path rejected, the revolution suffered set-back, and imperialists and reactionaries were strengthened and the revolutionary people and Marxist-Leninists were subjected to even more intense and brutal suppression. On the other hand, revolution gained tremendous victories and the imperialists and reactionaries were thoroughly defeated and eliminated precisely in those countries where the

Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries firmly persisted in the revolutionary path and rejected the so-called peaceful path, as in China, Vietnam etc.

How can the Marxist-Leninists of India ever fail to take note of this living experience and historical lesson provided by the present-day international revolutionary movement?

Renegades From Marxism-Leninism

Flouting all the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and rejecting the revolutionary line pursued by the international Communist movement under the leadership of the great Chinese Party and Mao Tse-tung, the neo-revisionist leading clique of the C. P. I. (M) upholds the traitorous line of the so-called "peaceful" path advocated and led by the Soviet revisionists. In their programme they wrote: "The Communist Party of India strives to achieve the establishment of People's Democracy and socialist transformation through peaceful means." This is nothing but an open rejection of the revolutionary international line of the world's Marxist-Leninists and adoption of the poisonous Khrushchite revisionist line in toto. These shameless renegades even gave an undertaking to the Police Minister of the Congress government that they would not even think of an armed revolt. Sundarayya, the General Secretary of the Party, wrote in *People's Democracy* of September 19, 1965: "When I met Nanda in the first week of December [1964], ... I told him:

"Do not believe your police reports. Use your political judgment. We are not thinking of any armed struggle of any type. ... We are a legal party and function openly. As long as we have these democratic rights, we are not children to throw them away and resort to so-called underground." Sundarayya further wrote: "Let me once again categorically deny the slander that we are preparing to go underground for making preparations for a Telangana-type armed struggle..." "If we have had any thought of going underground, I would not have gone to Nanda, the Home Minister, and the President of our Republic to plead with them not... to launch repression

against our Party... ." Thus the deal was complete : keep us out of jail ; instead of the "police reports," have reliance on us and see how we keep the entire activity of the Party exposed under your police surveillance. Establishing people's democracy and socialism with the approval of the ruling classes and their police-agents ! What revolution or revolutionary activity in any country has ever been organized and conducted under the surveillance of police-agents, informers and the military of the ruling classes, those very elements revolution aims to sweep away ? According to these neo-revisionist traitors, the revolutionaries must agree to expose themselves and all their activities, all their plans to the meanest of the mean among the police-agents for the benefit of the ruling classes. Obviously this is not the way to make revolution but the most cynical betrayal of revolution. Only the revisionists, and incorrigible opportunists who have completely and finally given up the path of revolution and are determined to serve the reactionary classes can ever think of giving such a traitorous undertaking that the people would never rise up in revolt against their oppressors. Our neo-revisionists are exactly such people.

No Different from the Dangeites

Faithfully following the instructions of the Soviet revisionists, the neo-revisionist leading clique of the CPI (M) preaches, proclaims and pursues the so-called peaceful parliamentary path and rejects the revolutionary path. As on all other major questions, in this respect too, the neo-revisionists are essentially the same as the Dangeites. There is no way to differentiate between the two. They shamelessly try to outbid even the reactionary Congress rulers in defending and preserving the rotten artifice of the so-called "parliamentary democracy" imposed by the British imperialists on India to cover up the cruel rule of the imperialists and their lackeys. As Sundarayya wrote : "Now it is Nanda and the Government of India that are destroying the parliamentary democracy, that are trying to destroy the democratic path of development. We must fight them and

defeat them so as to.....save parliamentary democracy." [*People's Democracy, September 12, 1965*]. These renegades are ever eager to obliterate even their superficial 'differences' with the Dangeites in order to be in the good books of the Congress rulers. "It will be interesting.....to note that the relevant passages regarding the possibilities for, and the limitations of, the peaceful path are almost similar in our Programme and the Programme of the revisionists. This is the most telling refutation of the canard by the Congress rulers....., that our Party stands for the insurrectionary method while the revisionists are the champions of the peaceful parliamentary path." [*E.M.S. Namboodiripad, The Programme Explained, p. 74*].

Destroyed Party's Revolutionary Character

To serve their reactionary masters—the imperialists and their Congress lackeys, and to oppose the revolutionary struggles of the masses in a thoroughgoing manner, the neo-revisionist leading clique of the C. P. I. (M) has also taken measures to incapacitate the Party organisationally and reduce it to a vegetating parliamentary party in order to make it harmless and acceptable to the ruling classes. For this purpose they collaborated closely with the Dangeites in the united party to introduce a so-called three-tier system at all levels of the Party. For instance, to the central leading bodies—the P.B. and the C.C.—was added a so-called third body styled as the National Council of 101 members which was to meet after every 8 months. It was a device to concentrate still more the real power in the hands of the hard-core of the revisionist leading clique and simultaneously to bereft the Party of even the semblance of a truly Leninist revolutionary party capable of leading the masses on to the revolutionary path efficiently and carrying on revolutionary activity in the face of all persecutions and intimidations of the enemy classes. The three-tier system proved unworkable even in carrying on the peaceful parliamentary activities for which it was meant. The neo-revisionists, at their Calcutta Congress in 1964, not only retained in fact the three-tier system but made it even

more unwieldy and unworkable than the previous one. The neo-revisionists not only enlarged their C.C. even more than its previous counterpart, the CEC, but also provided for a so-called "plenum" to replace the National Council. This "plenum" is even more unwieldy than its previous counterpart and is to meet at intervals of 12 months. In this way the Party has been made even more slow-moving and flabby. The only thing such a party can do is to vegetate perpetually in the morass of parliamentarism. The organisational structure devised by the neo-revisionists precludes all possibilities of the Party participating in any meaningful way in revolutionary activities, not to speak of leading the revolutionary struggles of the masses. This was precisely what the neo-revisionist leading clique aimed at achieving at the Calcutta Party Congress. They even assured the Police Minister of the government that the changes in the Congress of organisational structure were in no way meant to foster or facilitate revolutionary struggles. In a letter written on 7.1.65, by five P. B. members of the neo-revisionist leading clique of the C.P.I. (M) and addressed to Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, then Prime Minister of the Congress government, it was pointed out that "the [Party's] constitutional amendments provided for more democratic functioning than before.....Where is the question of any provision 'suited to conspiratorial and subversive activities' in all this." [*Reply from Prison, p. 10.*] Further, these five members of the neo-revisionist leading clique shamelessly confessed that the fraudulent slogan of peaceful parliamentary path was meant to keep the party away from the revolutionary path and revolution. Pointing their finger to the passage in their party programme in which it is stated that "the party will obviously utilise all the opportunities that present themselves of bringing into existence of governments, pledged to carry out a modest programme of giving immediate relief to the people," these neo-revisionist chieftains, servitors of reaction as they are, assured the Prime Minister thus : "In the face of this can anyone believe that our party is preparing for armed struggles." [*Ibid, p.18.*]

Further, these renegades have completely destroyed inner-Party democracy and the method of criticism and self-criticism and substituted bureaucratism and liberalism for these.

There can be no doubt that the neo-revisionist servitors are not even thinking in terms of any revolutionary armed struggle of any type, not to speak of organizing or preparing for such struggles. It is also certain that as struggles become more acute they will try heart and soul to rid the Party of all vestige of revolutionary characteristics. It is evident that the Party under their leadership can serve only reaction and can never serve the people or the revolution.

'United Front' : Reaction's Weapon to Oppose Revolution

In recent months, the neo-revisionists and the Dangeite renegades have been straining themselves to the utmost to prove to the people what a unique and wonderful thing the so-called United Front is. In Kerala, West Bengal and several other states like U.P. and Bihar they succeeded, with the approval of the ruling classes, in holding ministerial offices. It seems this 'wine of success' has gone to their head and they have become even more loud in singing the praise of the U. F. and the so-called non-Congress governments. They have become even more shameless and openly peddle these U.F. governments as an alternative to the revolutionary path. They think it very good because such propaganda can confuse the mind of people about the class realities and thus disrupt the development of revolutionary struggles.

As everyone knows, the so-called U. F.'s, in every state without exception, consist of all sorts of rotten opportunists, representatives of vested interests, seasoned anti-Communists, counter-revolutionaries, careerists and political adventurers of all descriptions. It is precisely such people who lead and constitute the majority of the so-called U. F.'s in every state. What business can any revolutionary or Marxist-Leninist have in uniting with them ? How can these reactionaries ever support or help to further people's cause ? Have these rotten eggs then changed their nature fundamentally and become

champions of people's cause overnight? Nothing of the sort. For example, in West Bengal, Sri Ajoy Mukherjee, the veteran and incorrigible anti-Communist reactionary, who leads the U.F., openly proclaims his unshaken adherence to the reactionary Congress ideals and policies and Gandhism. Last October, even as he was leading the so-called U. F. government in West Bengal, he almost openly conspired with the Congress bosses in New Delhi and in the State to drive out the neo-revisionists from his government, who, he mistakenly believed, were carrying on revolutionary activities. He later withdrew because, as he admitted afterwards, he found out that the neo-revisionists were as genuinely anti-Chinese and opposed to revolution as any other constituent of the U. F.

What makes the neo-revisionists unite with such elements? What is there common between them and people like Ajoy Mukherjee? What binds them together so firmly? Clearly, the bond that binds the neo-revisionist 'champions of people's cause' to the other reactionaries in the U. F., is nothing sacred. Indeed, it is the common urge to oppose revolution and people's revolutionary struggles, that is so firmly binding the neo-revisionists with the renegade Dangeites and other reactionaries in the U. F. This is precisely the common platform on which the neo-revisionists unite and work jointly with the reactionaries, anti-Communists, crypto-Congressites, opportunists and the Dangeites.

This so-called U.F. is a product—a negative product, of the development of class struggle of the Indian people against the imperialists and other reactionaries. It is a product born directly out of the requirements of the reactionary ruling classes of India, which are fast getting isolated from the masses. Their chief political weapon, Congress, has been blunted and has lost much of its effectiveness in the face of the growing struggles of the people. In order to make up for the loss and continue their cruel rule of exploitation and oppression the ruling classes have been forced to rally all their forces, to unite them under their flag in order to make a last desperate effort to preserve and continue their rule by deception, i.e.,

through the so-called parliamentary institutions. Although they will inevitably have recourse to naked bloody dictatorial rule before they are overthrown by the people, they realise that it is much cheaper and better for them to rule by deception, i.e., by maintaining the facade of the so-called parliamentary democracy even as, in fact, they continue to reap many of the benefits of an open dictatorial rule. The so-called U. F. serves exactly this purpose. Making a virtue of the obvious, the neo-revisionists shamelessly masquerade as anti-Congress heroes who have brought about the downfall of the wretched Congress rule. They then make a show of providing a stable non-Congress government which exactly suits the requirements of the reactionary ruling classes. For, whose stability it is that the U. F. governments try to bring about? Certainly, the people have nothing to look forward to and can never enjoy any stability under the rotten rule of the imperialists and their lackeys. The stability that the U. F. governments shout about is nothing but the political stability of the ruling classes whose chief organ Congress has virtually become useless. In the background of the rapid decay of the Congress, an alternative stable government that would serve reaction has become an urgent necessity for the ruling classes. The neo-revisionist leading clique of the C. P. I. (M) has consciously come forward to carry out this task. The revisionist chieftain Namboodiripad pointed exactly to this fact in his replies to Bernard Nossiter of the *Washington Post*, the semi-official organ of the U. S. imperialists. He said: "the main feature of the political situation in India today is the rapid decline in the influence and the power of the Congress, accompanied by the absence of any single party which can replace it. Only a combination of parties can meet the situation." [*People's Democracy*, January 14, 1968.] He said that they have achieved successes in this regard: "I may now claim that one of the biggest achievements of our pre-election alliance and the post-election coalition Government is that we have shown that it is possible for the various non-Congress parties to come together and establish a relatively stable alliance on which a stable

coalition Government can be built." [Ibid.] He pointed out that such stability "is of tremendous significance for the country as a whole." [Ibid.] Further, in his opinion, "Such a combination of parties should necessarily include the Communists and Socialists and other secular democratic radical parties." Undoubtedly such achievements are of "tremendous significance" for the ruling classes.

How did the U. F. governments score such 'big achievements' of 'tremendous significance'? These were achieved by faithfully implementing the reactionary policies of the ruling classes, by intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the people still further and giving consistent protection to the jotedars, blackmarketeers, capitalists and a free hand to the murderous police force. In spite of the fraudulent claims of the neo-revisionists and the Dangeites that these governments could provide "immediate relief to the people" and "give great fillip to the revolutionary movement of the working people" [see programme of C. P. I. (M)], it turned out that under the U. F. governments, the miseries and hardships of the people increased by leaps and bounds and their rights were curtailed and their movements were discouraged, condemned and brutally suppressed by the U. F. governments and leaders.

—"People today have, ... even less food (and that at higher cost) than ten months ago [that is under Congress rule]. The problem of unemployment and lack of all-round economic development has also become worse during the last ten months." [Namboodiripad's replies to *Washington Post*, Ibid.]

—"Industrialists were unanimous in acclaiming it [the "industrial policy" statement of the Kerala U. F. government led by Namboodiripad]. On the other hand, the trade union movement was highly critical of some passages in the statement which may well go contrary to the right of the working class for collective bargaining and their freedom of organization and struggle" [Ibid].

The Bengali evening daily, *Gana Sakti* [GS], organ of the West Bengal neo-revisionists, had to admit—

"The racketeers in food, hoarders and profiteers continue

to rule the roost today exactly in the same way as they did under the Congress regime...the utter failure of the [U.F.] government to bring to book the black-marketeters and to dehoard food is the root cause of this state of affairs" [GS, July 21, '67]. "The U. F. government has proved itself utterly a failure on the food front.... The common people are smarting under the twin curse of food scarcity and price-rise. Faced with such an intolerable situation, they have become desperate and are holding up trains and squatting on the streets." [GS, July 16].

—"The profiteers, hoarders and the dishonest traders have been able to establish with impunity unfettered control over the entire market of the State. And what did the [U.F.] government do ? It chose the role of a helpless and silent spectator to all this." [GS, Sept. 14]

When the people themselves took the initiative to dehoard food and force profiteers to sell at reasonable prices, the neo-revisionists and their U.F. colleagues consistently discouraged such actions and tried in every possible way to quench the anger of the masses against the hoarders and profiteers. Not content with that, the U.F. government even employed its reactionary police force to persecute, harass and arrest those who dared to rise up against the hoarders and profiteers.

Industrialists and capitalists carried out with impunity their policy of exploiting and oppressing the workers and employees and the U.F. government eagerly provided all sorts of protection for these money-bags, including the help of the police. On the other hand, it mercilessly beat up, arrested and killed workers and employees when they dared to protest and resist the attacks of the money-bags, as happened at Birlapur and Dum Dum.

But the most to benefit were the feudal lords and the racketeers. In fact, aided and assisted by the U. F. and the Congress, the jotedars in the villages intensified their exploitation and oppression of the peasant masses to an unprecedented scale during the U. F. regime. Encouraged by the implicit

support of the U. F. government, the jotedars and racketeers began to squeeze the people with a savage fury unknown even during the corrupt Congress regime. They made 200-300 percent more profit during the U. F. regime than they ever could under the Congress.

The people, angered at the merciless and increasing exploitation and at the silent support of the U. F. government began to move on their own to hit back and resist the attacks of reaction. It is then that the neo-revisionists and the U. F. took off their mask of 'progressiveness' and revealed their ugly reactionary nature. They re-introduced the hated reactionary P.D. Act and unleashed a terror campaign against the resisting people. They began to kill mercilessly peasants, employees and students. A cruel police-raj of repression and persecution was established in the State under the leadership of the U. F. and with whole-hearted support from the neo-revisionist leading clique. Bloody repression campaigns were let loose in the colliery areas, at Ranaghat, Howrah and other places. For more than seven days the people of Nabadwip fought valiantly against the butchers of the U. F. government. In all such repression campaigns the neo-revisionists and the U. F. got all-out support from the Congress bosses and other reactionaries. It became impossible to differentiate between the Congress and the U. F. who co-operated closely with each other in repressing the valiant people.

But nowhere were the pseudo-'anti-Congressism' and sham progressivism of the revisionists and the U. F. exposed so clearly as in the case of Naxalbari. There thousands of revolutionary peasants led by the revolutionaries in the C.P.I. (M), raised the banner of revolt against their ferocious oppressors—the feudal lords. They drove out these oppressors and salvaged food and land from their clutches. All revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists in India and all over the world were elated at this. But the reactionary Congress regime, the imperialists and reactionaries of all kinds including our neo-revisionist counter-revolutionaries were greatly angered at these revolutionary acts of the Naxalbari peasants.

With the armed forces requisitioned from the Central Congress government and their own armed police force the U. F. government launched a most brutal campaign of terror and persecution against the revolutionary peasants of Naxalbari. They encouraged and assisted the affected jotedars to build up a private army of goondas and scoundrels recruited locally as well as from other States like Bihar and U. P. In all this, the neo-revisionists took the leading and most prominent role. The Congress reactionaries assisted in every way in this traitorous action of the neo-revisionists and their U. F. accomplices.

The experience of the U. F. governments in Kerala, West Bengal and other States has conclusively proved to the workers peasants and the toiling people that these governments are, despite their protestations of anti-Congressism, no different from the rotten Congress regime. The U. F. governments have proved themselves champions of reaction and vested interests and not champions of the people's cause. The U. F. governments are as merciless and brutal in opposing the revolutionary masses as the Congress, and no less; on the other hand, they have been as staunch and firm in protecting the interests of the imperialists and feudal lords as the Congress. Facts show that the U. F. governments cannot give even 'immediate relief' to the people, nor guarantee minimum democratic rights to the people. On the contrary, they make people's miseries even more acute than before, and curtail and trample underfoot minimum rights of the people even as the Congress reactionaries do.

Neo-Revisionists—Spearhead of Reaction

The slogan of peaceful parliamentary path that the neo-revisionists have raised is a slogan of renegades from Marxism-Leninism and revisionists. It has never been the slogan of Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries nor can it be. This is so because it is based upon the rejection of class struggle and the laws of social development. It has always been the slogan of the traitors to people's revolution. Lenin in his days had to wage repeated struggles against the advocates of the peaceful

path. Now, that treacherous banner has been picked up by the modern revisionists led by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique.

The neo-revisionist leading clique and the Dangeites have joined hands to proclaim this fraudulent slogan of peaceful parliamentary path to deceive the people, confuse their mind and to sow all sorts of illusions about the imperialists and their lackeys. In this way, they want to disrupt the revolutionary solidarity of the people and frustrate their revolutionary strivings. When the imperialists, the feudal lords and their chief political weapon, Congress, are discredited and getting isolated and losing their hold on the people as never before, this fraudulent revisionist slogan suits them ideally to continue their rule. Indeed, it is the neo-revisionists and the Dangeites who have taken upon themselves the onerous burden of protecting and preserving the rule of the imperialists and reactionaries by beautifying in every possible manner the parliamentary ornaments and hiding the reactionary state apparatus, glorifying the so-called 'democracy', and 'independence' and 'non-alignment' of the Congress regime and hiding the brutal dictatorial powers, the constant persecution and oppression of the people, the neo-colonialist domination of U.S. imperialism and the Soviet revisionists and the utterly reactionary nature of the anti-China anti-people policies of the Congress government.

Hence, the neo-revisionists have become the chief standard-bearer of the enemies of the Indian people. They have willingly undertaken this burden to oppose the revolution. Clearly, the revolutionary masses will have to direct their main political attack against these neo-revisionist call-boys of imperialism and reaction. This is so, because neo-revisionism is in essence the ideology of imperialism. It is a variant of the ideology of the most reactionary class—imperialism, and not a variant of Marxism-Leninism. It is the most poisonous ideology which tries to corrode Marxism-Leninism and eats away the vitality and vigour of revolution. Neo-revisionism, which is only another name of modern revisionism, is therefore, the most pernicious enemy of the Indian people and the most poisonous

weapon in the hand of the enemies of the Indian people. Indeed, neo-revisionism is the spearhead of reaction in India. Led by the great Chinese Communist Party and Mao Tse-tung the Marxist-Leninists of the world have been waging a fierce principled battle against this treacherous counter-revolutionary line of the modern revisionists. Under these conditions there is absolutely no scope for any Marxist-Leninist or revolutionary to remain neutral or 'non-aligned' in this Great Debate between the Marxist-Leninists and the modern revisionists. Because the issue is: to make revolutions or not; to overthrow the exploiters and oppressors, destroy their state apparatus and establish people's own revolutionary state apparatus or to submit to the imperialist man-eaters and their lackeys; to win genuine national independence and democracy for the toiling people or to remain under the heels of imperialism and reaction. Silence or neutrality here has only one meaning—supporting the imperialists and reactionaries and opposing revolution and the revolutionary people.

The Indian people know from their long experience that the imperialists, feudal lords and the reactionaries are a pack of blood-thirsty and ferocious wolves. They know there is only one way to deal with them and only one way to rid themselves of these monsters—the path of determined struggle, an unrelenting tit-for-tat struggle. It is only thus that they can really overthrow their exploiters and oppressors. The imperialists and reactionaries have never stopped their cruel persecution, killing and exploitation of the Indian people. Nor will they ever stop being so as long as they exist. So, what should the people do? Should they fold their hands and pray for 'a change of heart' of these monsters—as the neo-revisionist chieftains Jyoti Basu and Hare Krishna Konar did in respect of the jotedars and the hoarders of people's food? Or, should they stand up on their own legs, defy difficulties, and wage a determined struggle and win back the control of their own country and of their own lives from the hand of their exploiters and oppressors in a thorough-going manner? All Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries and patriots unreservedly support the people in attaining

their just and revolutionary goals, because this is the only path for the liberation of India.

Naxalbari Path—The Only Path for Liberation

How must the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries therefore, conduct their struggle against neo-revisionism? What is the most effective way to criticise and struggle against it? The pre-condition for waging a successful struggle is to be able to sharply draw a line of demarcation between ourselves and neo-revisionism. It is not enough, however, to demarcate ourselves in words only, it is far more important for us to demarcate ourselves really, that is, in practice also, that is, organisationally and practically. Without this we cannot wage a really effective struggle against neo-revisionism and develop revolution.

For defeating the enemies of revolution and win victory we must thoroughly base ourselves on the thought of Mao Tse-tung, which is the highest development of Marxism-Leninism, and combine this with revolutionary practice. It has been repeatedly proved in our country that whenever we have based ourselves on the thought of Mao Tse-tung and acted accordingly, we have scored unprecedented successes in developing the revolutionary struggle. In Telangana, the armed revolutionary struggle was waged under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and great successes were scored owing to this. It was precisely because of this that the U. S. imperialist oppressors of India were greatly worried. In the words of Chester Bowles, the U. S. Ambassador to India: "The Hyderabad Communists skilfully operated under Mao Tse-tung's description of guerrilla tactics" [*Ambassador's Report p. 80*]. And further, "I believe that if the Communist parties in India and other free Asian nations shifted their primary allegiance from Moscow to Peking their prospects would improve dangerously." [*Ibid. p. 89*]. It is precisely because the imperialists and reactionaries were so frightened at the development of the Telangana revolutionary struggle that the revisionist traitorous leading clique of the C. P. I. led by

THE REVOLUTIONARY PATH

Ranadive, launched at that time such a vicious attack against the Chinese Party and personally against Mao Tse-tung. Today, the flame of Telangana has been re-kindled even more brightly and with even greater splendour in Naxalbari where the revolutionaries have raised high the great banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and revolution. The successes of Naxalbari are even more rapid and deeper. This is so because thousands of revolutionary peasants there have grasped the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and are acting accordingly. What wonder the imperialists and the ruling classes of India have got even more frightened than they were 20 years ago during the Telangana struggle. The all-out political-military attacks against the Naxalbari revolutionary peasants testify to this. Is it strange, therefore, that the neo-revisionists should once more begin to attack revolutionary China, the Chinese Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung even more wildly? This is only natural.

The imperialists and their mouthpiece, the neo-revisionists have begun a chorus against the revolutionaries who lead and support the Naxalbari struggle, against the revolutionary Indian people and against China and Mao Tse-tung. The Soviet revisionists are also zealously throwing their weight on the side of these reactionaries. But the combined force of imperialism, Soviet revisionism and Indian neo-revisionism is no match for the revolutionary Indian people. They are inexorably taking to the path Naxalbari has shown. The neo-revisionists, along with their masters—the imperialists, Soviet revisionists and their lackeys will be swept away before long into the dung-heap of history by the mighty revolutionary storm of the many-million strong Indian people. The air is already filled with the smell of the coming storm.